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# Journal of Heritage Tourism

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27  
H Index

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Subject [History](#)

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Scope The Journal of Heritage Tourism ( JHT ) is a peer-reviewed, international transdisciplinary journal. JHT focuses on exploring the many facets of one of the most notable and widespread types of tourism. Heritage tourism is among the very oldest forms of travel. Activities such as visits to sites of historical importance, including built environments and urban areas, rural and agricultural landscapes, natural regions, locations where historic events occurred and places where interesting and significant living cultures dominate are all forms of heritage tourism. As such, this form of tourism dominates the industry in many parts of the world and involves millions of people. During the past 20 years, the study of tourism has become highly fragmented and specialised into various theme areas, or concentrations. Within this context, heritage tourism is one of the most commonly investigated forms of tourism, and hundreds of scholars and industry workers are involved in researching its dynamics and concepts. This academic attention has resulted in the publication of hundreds of refereed articles in various scholarly media, yet, until now there has been no journal devoted specifically to heritage tourism; Journal of Heritage Tourism was launched to fill this gap. JHT seeks to critically examine all aspects of heritage tourism. Some of the topics to be explored within the context of heritage tourism will include colonial heritage, commodification, interpretation, urban renewal,

religious tourism, genealogy, patriotism, nostalgia, folklore, power, funding, contested heritage, historic sites, identity, industrial heritage, marketing, conservation, ethnicity, education and indigenous heritage.

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The set of journals have been ranked according to their SJR and divided into four equal groups, four quartiles. Q1 (green) comprises the quarter of the journals with the highest values, Q2 (yellow) the second highest values, Q3 (orange) the third highest values and Q4 (red) the lowest values.

Category	Year Quartile
History	2007 Q3
History	2008 Q1
History	2009 Q1
History	2010 Q1
History	2011 Q1
History	2012 Q1
History	2013 Q1
History	2014 Q1
History	2015 Q1
History	2016 Q1
History	2017 Q1
History	2018 Q1
History	2019 Q1
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2007 Q4
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2008 Q2
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2009 Q1
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2010 Q2
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Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2014 Q3
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2015 Q2
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2016 Q2
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2017 Q3
Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management	2018 Q2
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SJR

The SJR is a size-independent prestige indicator that ranks journals by their 'average prestige per article'. It is based on the idea that 'all citations are not created equal'. SJR is a measure of scientific influence of journals that accounts for both the number of citations received by a journal and the importance or prestige of the journals where such citations come from. It measures the scientific influence of the average article in a journal, it expresses how central to the global scientific discussion an average article of the journal is.

#### **Year SJR**

2007	0.113
2008	0.390
2009	0.752
2010	0.490
2011	0.520
2012	0.476
2013	0.390
2014	0.322
2015	0.574
2016	0.666
2017	0.428
2018	0.609
2019	0.462

Citations per document

This indicator counts the number of citations received by documents from a journal and divides them by the total number of documents published in that journal. The chart shows the evolution of the average number of times documents published in a journal in the past two, three and four years have been cited in the current year. The two years line is equivalent to journal impact factor <sup>™</sup> (Thomson Reuters) metric.

#### **Cites per document Year Value**

Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2006	0.000
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2007	0.375
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2008	1.333
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2009	1.484
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2010	1.283
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2011	1.090
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2012	1.217
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2013	0.944
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2014	1.065
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2015	1.196
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2016	1.968
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2017	1.515
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2018	2.128
Cites / Doc. (4 years)	2019	2.008

**Cites per document Year Value**

Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2006	0.000
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2007	0.375
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2008	1.333
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2009	1.484
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2010	0.800
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2011	1.050
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2012	1.179
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2013	0.851
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2014	0.901
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2015	1.304
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2016	1.958
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2017	1.575
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2018	1.557
Cites / Doc. (3 years)	2019	2.122
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2006	0.000
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2007	0.375
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2008	1.333
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2009	0.783
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2010	0.711
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2011	0.909
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2012	0.978
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2013	0.556
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2014	0.938
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2015	1.426
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2016	1.543
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2017	1.096
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2018	1.571
Cites / Doc. (2 years)	2019	2.155

Total Cites

Self-Cites

Evolution of the total number of citations and journal's self-citations received by a journal's published documents during the three previous years.

Journal Self-citation is defined as the number of citation from a journal citing article to articles published by the same journal.

**Cites Year Value**

Self Cites	2006	0
Self Cites	2007	1
Self Cites	2008	0
Self Cites	2009	8
Self Cites	2010	6
Self Cites	2011	13

<b>Cites</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Value</b>
Self Cites	2012	13
Self Cites	2013	6
Self Cites	2014	10
Self Cites	2015	17
Self Cites	2016	19
Self Cites	2017	15
Self Cites	2018	19
Self Cites	2019	45
Total Cites	2006	0
Total Cites	2007	3
Total Cites	2008	20
Total Cites	2009	46
Total Cites	2010	36
Total Cites	2011	63
Total Cites	2012	79
Total Cites	2013	57
Total Cites	2014	64
Total Cites	2015	90
Total Cites	2016	141
Total Cites	2017	115
Total Cites	2018	137
Total Cites	2019	208
External Cites per Doc		
Cites per Doc		

Evolution of the number of total citation per document and external citation per document (i.e. journal self-citations removed) received by a journal's published documents during the three previous years. External citations are calculated by subtracting the number of self-citations from the total number of citations received by the journal's documents.

<b>Cites</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Value</b>
External Cites per document	2006	0
External Cites per document	2007	0.250
External Cites per document	2008	1.333
External Cites per document	2009	1.226
External Cites per document	2010	0.667
External Cites per document	2011	0.833
External Cites per document	2012	0.985
External Cites per document	2013	0.761
External Cites per document	2014	0.761
External Cites per document	2015	1.058
External Cites per document	2016	1.694

<b>Cites</b>	<b>Year Value</b>
External Cites per document	2017 1.370
External Cites per document	2018 1.341
External Cites per document	2019 1.663
Cites per document	2006 0.000
Cites per document	2007 0.375
Cites per document	2008 1.333
Cites per document	2009 1.484
Cites per document	2010 0.800
Cites per document	2011 1.050
Cites per document	2012 1.179
Cites per document	2013 0.851
Cites per document	2014 0.901
Cites per document	2015 1.304
Cites per document	2016 1.958
Cites per document	2017 1.575
Cites per document	2018 1.557
Cites per document	2019 2.122
% International Collaboration	

International Collaboration accounts for the articles that have been produced by researchers from several countries. The chart shows the ratio of a journal's documents signed by researchers from more than one country; that is including more than one country address.

#### **Year International Collaboration**

2006 50.00
2007 0.00
2008 11.76
2009 21.74
2010 18.18
2011 34.78
2012 18.18
2013 21.43
2014 17.39
2015 23.08
2016 20.00
2017 21.05
2018 16.22
2019 17.24

Citable documents  
Non-citable documents

Not every article in a journal is considered primary research and therefore "citable", this chart shows the ratio of a journal's articles including substantial research (research articles, conference papers and reviews) in three year windows vs. those documents other than research articles, reviews and conference papers.

Documents	Year Value
Non-citable documents	2006 0
Non-citable documents	2007 0
Non-citable documents	2008 0
Non-citable documents	2009 1
Non-citable documents	2010 2
Non-citable documents	2011 2
Non-citable documents	2012 1
Non-citable documents	2013 0
Non-citable documents	2014 2
Non-citable documents	2015 4
Non-citable documents	2016 5
Non-citable documents	2017 6
Non-citable documents	2018 6
Non-citable documents	2019 7
Citable documents	2006 0
Citable documents	2007 8
Citable documents	2008 15
Citable documents	2009 31
Citable documents	2010 45
Citable documents	2011 60
Citable documents	2012 67
Citable documents	2013 67
Citable documents	2014 71
Citable documents	2015 69
Citable documents	2016 72
Citable documents	2017 73
Citable documents	2018 88
Citable documents	2019 98
Cited documents	
Uncited documents	

Ratio of a journal's items, grouped in three years windows, that have been cited at least once vs. those not cited during the following year.

Documents	Year Value
Uncited documents	2006 0
Uncited documents	2007 5
Uncited documents	2008 10

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Uncited documents	2009	15
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Uncited documents	2011	30
Uncited documents	2012	37
Uncited documents	2013	38
Uncited documents	2014	35
Uncited documents	2015	26
Uncited documents	2016	24
Uncited documents	2017	29
Uncited documents	2018	42
Uncited documents	2019	30
Cited documents	2006	0
Cited documents	2007	3
Cited documents	2008	5
Cited documents	2009	17
Cited documents	2010	26
Cited documents	2011	32
Cited documents	2012	31
Cited documents	2013	29
Cited documents	2014	38
Cited documents	2015	47
Cited documents	2016	53
Cited documents	2017	50
Cited documents	2018	52
Cited documents	2019	75



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# Performing rural heritage for nation branding: a comparative study of Japan and Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

### ABSTRACT

The study aims to examine (1) how the nation brands in Japan and Indonesia are represented by the performances of rural heritage, 2) how locals legitimate their collective identities with nation imaginings, and 3) how the brand association of rural heritage places contributes to the nation brand. Using a comparative study, this paper examines how the *Tsumago* post town in Nagano, Japan, and *Penglipuran* village in Bali demonstrate how for rural places to contribute to the idyllic rural imaginings for each nation. The research project use qualitative approach by interviewing local people and tourists, observing local activities, with the collection of media data, and an examination of the data using discourse analysis. The research results are that: (1) both destinations construct their nation brands through the discourses of space, (2) discourse of people movements, which circulate in a turbine model of heritage process, and (3) the discourse of nation branding. This study supports the need to study the local characteristics and performance patterns of rural places that are seemingly idyllic to represent the imaginings of nation. As a conclusion, both places, similarly and differently, combine the narratives of rural place using local, nation identity, and tourism imaginaries that are circulating globally.

KEYWORDS: [Nation branding](#), [performance](#), [rural](#), [heritage](#), [comparative study](#), [Indonesia](#), [Japan](#)

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## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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## Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in:

Murti, D. (2018). <http://ddfe.curtin.edu.au/5AF3D9B88F520/>

Murti, D. (2018). <http://ddfe.curtin.edu.au/5B57E2644E9A1/>

## Additional information

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### Notes on contributor

***Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti*** is a lecturer at Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Indonesia in the Department of Communication Sciences, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences. During the research process for this paper, she is completing her PhD in Media, Culture, and Social Inquiries at Curtin University, Australia under a full scholarship from the Indonesian Endowment Fund of Education Fund (LPDP) from the Finance Ministry of Indonesia. She also received funding to travel to Japan and conduct some comparative research case studies under Sumitomo Foundation. Her research interests are related to the intersection of cultural heritage tourism, visual communication, marketing communication, spaces, and media.

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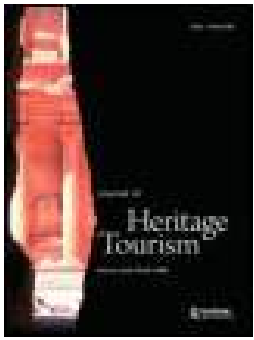
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## Performing rural heritage for nation branding: a comparative study of Japan and Indonesia

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# Performing rural heritage for nation branding: a comparative study of Japan and Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

The study aims to examine (1) how the nation brands in Japan and Indonesia are represented by the performances of rural heritage, 2) how locals legitimate their collective identities with nation imaginings, and 3) how the brand association of rural heritage places contributes to the nation brand. Using a comparative study, this paper examines how the *Tsumago* post town in Nagano, Japan, and *Penglipuran* village in Bali demonstrate how for rural places to contribute to the idyllic rural imaginings for each nation. The research project use qualitative approach by interviewing local people and tourists, observing local activities, with the collection of media data, and an examination of the data using discourse analysis. The research results are that: (1) both destinations construct their nation brands through the discourses of space, (2) discourse of people movements, which circulate in a turbine model of heritage process, and (3) the discourse of nation branding. This study supports the need to study the local characteristics and performance patterns of rural places that are seemingly idyllic to represent the imaginings of nation. As a conclusion, both places, similarly and differently, combine the narratives of rural place using local, nation identity, and tourism imaginaries that are circulating globally.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

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## KEYWORDS

Nation branding;  
performance; rural; heritage;  
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Indonesia; Japan

## Introduction

The performances of rural heritage have created a prolonged debate in the study of heritage, people, space, and nation branding. Performing heritage means to act and to enact in a specific site (Diamond, 2000), which becomes a contesting place for different groups, individuals or 'actors' to be gazed upon or watched by others (Tivers, 2002). Many of them would not consider themselves to be 'performing' at all, in a dramatic feel, since it is their daily life. Studies have discussed various performance of heritage by turning vernacular rural life into rural heritage tourism to ensure the future of rural areas (Ducros, 2017). Among them are post towns or post stations, located in rural villages and commonly found in Japan, where travellers could rest during their journeys around the nation (Siegenthaler, 2003), and tourism villages, or villages preserved for rural communities, which are commonly found in Indonesia (Dahles, 2013; Khamdevi & Bott, 2017). Post Town or *shukuba machi* is one of the city types in feudal Japan, which developed along five circular roads and extended from the *shogunate* capital of Edo (Izumida, 2011; Karan, 1997). The Japanese officials or regional warlords called *daimyo*, stopped in special inns located in some *shukuba machi* before they went to do their residential obligation (*sankin kotai*) in Edo (Karan, 1997). Meanwhile, *desa wisata* or tourism village was built to fulfil the needs of exhibiting Soeharto's vision of Indonesian diversity through

local ethnic community and the preserving the nostalgic demand of Indonesia as an agricultural nation (Yamashita, 2013). Both models face the criticism that they commodify rural places by sentimentalising the past (Ducros, 2017).

Furthermore, many critics also consider the exploitation of rural places for the purposes of the nation branding agenda (Anholt, 2006) and the authentic performances of rural life for socio-economic purposes. Global interactions and demand that may change the locals also arise as part of the interplay of criticism in relation to heritage performances (Tivers, 2002). Such debates bring the academic conversations around rural heritage places into a complex interconnection between space, people, and nation branding.

These debates raise important questions about how and why the performances of rural heritage can contribute to the representation of the nation branding in different cultural settings. Specifically, the current study aims to explore: 1) how heritage performances in Japan and Indonesia shape the past for the interest of the nation branding in the present; 2) how locals legitimate their collective identities and cultural experiences to fit into a pattern of nation imaginings; and 3) how the association of rural heritage place contributes to the nation brand. These research questions are examined using the interconnection of theories of space, people, and nation branding.

Japanese and Indonesian rural heritage places were chosen as the research context for two main reasons. First, heritage is about reworking the meaning of the past, for the present changes and develops the past based on community experiences, initiatives, and identity claims (McCoy, 2011). Even though, according to many scholars, identities in the heritage concept are disembodied from local boundaries and the traditional framework of nation, ethnicity, and classes, by creating hybrid or in-between spaces (Graham & Howard, 2008). However, the sense of heritage still embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration of the past in the particular sites.

Secondly, since the 1990s, multidisciplinary academics have called for more studies to understand the practice of rural heritage performances in diverse communities in non-Western settings (Smith, 2006). In many rural heritage places in non-Western contexts, the performances are generated from subaltern communities such as indigenous or tribal groups, postcolonial communities, and/or local movements (Smith, 2006). Since then, a range of communities with different geographical locations has been examined to explore how these communities forge the local legitimacy of collective identity, social, political, and cultural experiences in their heritage places (Smith, 2006). The comparison between Japanese and Indonesian contexts provides rich data for the study of the performances of rural heritage places in terms of local people movement.

## Literature review

An understanding of rural heritage spaces is tied with the function of place to anchor tradition and memory of the past. It is a place where consumers from different nations and regions meet in a particular segment of identity (Nuryanti, 1996). Therefore, scholars should look not only at the characteristics of the area itself, such as the potencies of capital accumulation and/or external ownership (Massey, 1994), but also at its identities as they are expressed in the social structure (Eller, 2016) and local culture as the product of interactions beyond its local boundaries (Xue, Kerstetter, & Hunt, 2017). This is necessary because the traits of an area are a product not only of internal history and manufacturing industry, but also of global interactions (Massey, 2005). Massey's concern with the geography of power, which shapes the intersection of trajectories in the space, people, and nation, is important in emphasising these complex interactions (Hooks, Lobao, & Tickamyer, 2016; Massey, 2005).

Accordingly, it is important to explore the representation of a space for nation branding through the interaction and negotiation of locals' values (Anholt & Hildreth, 2011; Ashworth, 2017). Rural heritage can be seen as contributing to the alternative imaginings of space in the sense that people mobilise themselves to alter the place they live in by creating the 'becoming' of a place when they interact and face current socio economic challenges (Massey, 2005, p. 118). This concept relates

to the notion of invented traditions, which points to the way in which the meaning of tradition is altered based on the demands of current local and global challenges (Ashworth, 2017; Smith, 2006); in this case, the material of symbolic culture in rural heritage is changing due to the demand of the tourist gaze that it create a stage of authenticity (Urry, 2002).

The cultural materials in rural heritage are a part of the identity of the local space, a nation, and a celebration of collective memory, which are often manifested in various cultural objects, such as buildings, rituals, nation symbols, monuments, and many others (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). A rural heritage space emerges when a government claims or invents landscapes, people, and culture as iconic symbols to gain a nation identity in the minds of people. The cultural material functions as a way to create obedience, loyalty, cooperation, local initiative/movement, and nation legitimacy in the eyes of the local people (McCoy, 2011). Although some of the cultural material in the rural heritage space remains unchanged in this process, the symbolic meaning may be changed or (re) invented due to the social, economic, and cultural dynamics and challenges that a nation faces in the current situation (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Furthermore, forming a nation brand is fostered not only by the sameness of others, but also by their differentiation from others (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). For example, the symbols and meanings are constructed and performed to distinguish a nation from other nations. Thus, examining how 'others' experience a nation is also important especially through the perspective of nation branding (Anholt & Hildreth, 2011). Although many argue that, a nation involves too many stakeholders with complex relationships (Buhalis, 2000; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2000) and to relate it to a brand is to oversimplify the complexity of what makes a nation (Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2002). Despite these criticisms, many research projects also explore the role of cultural heritage tourism in the construction of nation branding (Kavoura, 2012; Labadi, 2007; Newland & Taylor, 2010; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). In this research project, the brand associations between nation and rural heritage from the perspective of tourists and local people are also examined in order to understand the differentiation of each nation and rural heritages.

In the constant process of representation of identities and performance of the rural heritage, the interpretation of tourist demand is one of the ways to define which material should be preserved. When tourists appreciate a place as unique, nostalgic, exotic, or aesthetic, the cultural material can potentially be commoditized and commercialized and the locals may develop performance of heritage based on the dynamics of tourism demand (Kavoura, 2012; Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009; Waterton & Watson, 2010). Heritage itself is a multidimensional performance, which involves the acts of visiting, managing, interpreting, and conserving the past to provide income in the present context and interest of present-day consumers (Smith, 2006). Heritage performances promote a version of history, deriving from the powerful elites or institutions, which functions to control cultural and social tensions in the present (McCoy, 2011). The performances of heritage are not static objects, but occur in a dynamic process of negotiation to rework the past for the cultural, social, and cultural interest of the present (Smith, 2006). Moreover, performing culture in the rural heritage space is constructed in order to be recognised by others, such as international institutions or mass media, and is eventually offered to foreign investors and tourists (Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009; Yamashita, 2013). On the positive side, heritage tourism can benefit the locals through financial profit, preserving and conserving the nature and culture, and giving a sense of pride to the community (Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009).

## Methods

The methodology used for this research involves an ethnographic approach. Since the context of a rural heritage is important, two rural heritage locations in Japan and Indonesia were selected based the official lists of the most popular tourist destinations such as from, the Japan National Tourism Organization and the Ministry of Tourism, Republic of Indonesia. Using these official lists, the selections of the subjects of the fieldwork research were based on four criteria. First, the rural heritage

location must have history of local initiators and movements in the early establishment process. This study explores cultural heritage in two rural places—*Tsumago* in Nagano Prefecture and *Penglipuran* in Bali Province—each well known as the initiator of Japanese and Indonesian local movements to preserve cultural heritage places.

Second, in order to increase the significant of the research, the rural heritage location must be recognised as the model for the replication of other rural places designed to represent the idyllic nature of heritage performances for the nation branding. *Tsumago* is one of the top ten post towns in Japan. Located in the Southern Japan Alps in Nagano Prefecture, *Tsumago* allows people to escape the present and enjoy the nostalgia of the Tokugawa era (1603–1868) (Willis, 2002). The place offers Edo period architecture especially in the *Waki Honjin*, some preserved houses, museums, artefacts, and landscape for hiking (Suzuki & Chikatsu, 2002). *Tsumago* is also widely known as the post town that offers the most romantic vision of ancient Japan (Figure 1). The success of the town as a tourist destination encourages the Japanese government to engage in more cultural preservation and restoration activities (Siegenthaler, 2003). A similar concept also appears in Bali, especially in *Penglipuran* village, the name, which derives from the words ‘*Pengeling*’ and ‘*Pura*’ which also serves as a reminder (*Pengeling*) to return to the ancestors or the past (*Pura* or temple) (Dorn, 2010). *Penglipuran* village is also one of the top ten tourism villages in Indonesia and is included as a model for a national project of tourism village or *desa wisata* (Figure 2). Located 700 m above sea levels in Bangli region in the middle part of Bali, *Penglipuran* offers an escape for tourists to visit the residential area of Balinese villagers. The village is located only one-hour drive from the tourism area of Kintamani or Ubud (Achmadi, 2008). Locals prevent cars or other modern transportation from entering the village and prevent any appearance of technology so as to preserve the nostalgic atmosphere. *Penglipuran* village also exhibits traditional architecture, a village museum, artefacts, and landscape for hiking (Wulandari, 2010).

Third, the rural heritage town or village must have historical narratives, which show the prolonged establishment of national identity from the past to the present. For example, *Tsumago*’s village museum also exhibits material which was once kept in the *kominkan* or the ‘citizens’ public hall,’ which shows the involvement of *Tsumago* in post-war preservation movements (Siegenthaler, 2003). It demonstrates the rhetorical messages of the active local movement to restore and preserve the village. Similarly, *Penglipuran* village demonstrate the social movement of *Pakraman*, or the movement of preserving the *adat* or cultural traditions in the civic structural system (Picard, 2008; Yamashita, 2013). The fourth criterion is that the rural heritages communities must permit researchers to access the data within their local organisations and people.

The collection of primary data for these research sites took place during the peak of the tourism season in July–August 2017 in Indonesia and April–May 2018 in Japan; where there were many



**Figure 1.** Tsumago Post Town in Nagano Prefecture of Japan. (Source: Photo by Author, 2018).



**Figure 2.** Penglipuran Village in Bali Province, Indonesia. (Source: Photo by Author, 2017).

opportunities to engage in participant observation and interviewing. Thirty-six informants participated in short semi-structured interviews (30–120 min) in both countries, representing: tourist officers/staff, service providers, local people, homestay owners, drivers for tours, café/souvenir shop owners, tour guides, and tourists. The local people who were willing to participate in the research through interviews and/or observation process were those who had knowledge of the history of the location, from the early establishment process to the current stage of development; these participants were selected to facilitate the exploration of the process of people movement (Davis, 2011; Liu & Lee, 2015). The interviews were carried out using an interview guide in the Japanese and Indonesian languages, from which the interview data were transcribed and translated into English.

In addition, for observations, the study utilises videos, field notes, and recordings. The aim of these observations is to investigate the everyday local activities and heritage performances in the locations. In the observation process, the present study follows the steps of sensing the heritage (as outlined by Shelby, 2010; in Waterton & Watson, 2010), such as visualizing, representing, performing, perceiving, knowing, and acting.

Supplementary data were also collected between 2017 and 2018 from the promotional media around and/or about the heritage sites from online data sources such as the official websites of the governments and communities, the websites of tour agents, tourism promotional media, and travel review platforms. Offline media were also collected, including magazines, brochures, posters, maps, and booklets.

These primary and secondary qualitative data were coded and analysed with the help of NVivo, a software package for visual qualitative data analysis. Due to the nature of the thick data in this ethnographic research, models adopted from several research sources (such as from Davis, 2011; Dogan, 2015; Liu & Lee, 2015) were used to demonstrate a comparison of discourses in both places and to show how the discourses work in a particular framework of theories and models.

## Findings

As a result of the research investigation, the study revealed a collection of dominant discourses, which appear similarly and comparably in both the Japanese and Indonesian case studies of rural heritage locations. The main outcome of the findings is that both *Tsumago* (T) and *Penglipuran* (P) demonstrate the performance of heritage to represent the nation brands through the discourses of spaces, people movement and nation brand. Each discourse reveals patterns in the production and reproduction of cultural materials, which work to simultaneously create the performance of rural heritage and connect rural identity to the imaginings of nation. The themes and subthemes of discourses are summarised in Figure 3.



How rural heritages perform the idyllic imaginings for the construction of the nation in Japan and Indonesia?		
How the characters of heritage performances in a non-Western context, shape the past for the interest of the present?	How locals legitimate their collective identities and social, political and cultural experiences with nation imaginings to shape the pattern in the performances of heritage?	How the association of rural heritage place contribute to the nation brand?
Through the discourse of space	Through the discourse of people movement	Through the discourses in nation branding
(1) Building up from religious values, spirits and historical tracks	(1) Establishing and building collective agreement	(1) Nation brand through words association
(2) Using natural preservation as a commodity	(2) Planning management and improving regional environment	(2) Local brand through relationship with nation and local words association
(3) Constructing memorial landscape	(3) Arranging commercial collaboration and developing regional issues	

**Figure 3.** Overview of themes and subthemes. (Source: Figure by Author, 2018).

How do the characteristics of heritage performances in a non-Western context shape the past for the nation branding interest of the present?

The research data associated with the discourse of space indicates the characteristics of heritage performances. The characteristics of religion and a landscape of nostalgia appear as the dominant narratives in the construction of rural heritage. Religious values and historical narratives motivate the design of landscape and human activity around the heritage location. In this context, *Tsumago* and *Penglipuran* appear as places that use landscape as a commodity of rhetorical messaging to appear as rural heritage assets for the nation and tourists. To explain the discourse of spaces, I map words, phrases and cultural materials that can represent the narratives of heritage performances in relation to spaces (Figure 4).

Building up from religious values, spirits and historical tracks

According to Figure 4, religious discourses play an important role in constructing the identity of rural heritage. Similar cultural materials include buildings for worship such as *Pura* or temples for Hindu Bali believers in *Penglipuran* village, and shrines or temples for Shinto and





Meanings and experiences are reproduced through social associations such as religions and customs, which are accumulated through perceived symbols that should be preserved, such as the mountain areas through the *Tri Mandala* concepts in *Penglipuran* and the mountain cults in *Tsumago* such as the Mount Otake worshippers. The sense of space in *Penglipuran* and *Tsumago*, which in both cases derives from local beliefs, produces community information about how the residential areas are planned in such a way as to enable mountain-dwelling people to travel there to engage in religious practices. The people then distribute images and texts to explain their sense of space as heritage knowledge, and reproduce collective imaginings not only to local people but also to visitors and media (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Derived from religious spirit and philosophy, similar practices can be observed in the preservation of mountain areas, forests, and local plants such as bamboo and vegetation. The way, in which the landscape is designed, based on religious and cultural beliefs, contributes to the construction of narratives of cultural. Allcock argues:

Heritage is not just that which has come down to us from the past; it is one version of that past, which potentially competes with other possible versions, but which has come to be sponsored as appropriate and acceptable (1995, in Waterton & Watson, p. 8).

In this sense, the local people or elites that embody the historical values and natural preservation narratives negotiate the performance of rural heritage by choosing the narratives, which represent their identities.

### Constructing memorial landscape

Although residents of both *Penglipuran* and *Tsumago* demonstrate similar ways of implementing their local imaginings regarding their landscape, they have different ways of performing landscape based on their understanding of natural preservation and the landscape of memory (Figure 5).

*Penglipuran* is known to perform the identity of 'Bali in the past,' through its village and local values. Their streetscapes, for example, represent a vertical structure of the body, including head, body and feet. The practice of this landscape performance can be observed in media promotion, local narratives and the landscape itself. The significance of the human body in this cultural context is the residential houses grow along the vertical streetscape. To negotiate the growth of population and access to personal transportation, the streets behind the residential houses provide access for motor vehicles and electricity towers. They hide the modern behind the preservation streetscape and decorations to negotiate the existence of modern tools among the nostalgic ambiance.

On the contrary, *Tsumago's* streetscape promotes the idea of a connector from the Nakasendo trails in the Edo Period. *Tsumago* functions to perform rhetorical messages in a nostalgic way using a more horizontal line than the structure of the landscape in *Penglipuran*. The practice of this landscape performance can be observed in media promotion, local narratives and the landscape itself, which functions as a connector between mountains and post towns. As a consequence, the residential houses grow along the connector street of the horizontal streetscape. To negotiate the growth of population and access to personal transportation, the streets behind the residential houses function to provide access for motor vehicles and electricity towers. However, some of the residential houses cannot access these roads because the preservation of forest and buildings has covered their access routes. The existence of modern tools among the nostalgic ambiances is negotiated by hiding the modern behind the preservation streetscape and decorations, and opening the main streetscape for motor vehicles after 4.00 pm.

For those who live in rural heritage sites, social systems, religions and landscape philosophies should be maintained based on the local values to which they choose to adhere. However, in terms of local struggles to maintain the communal identity and national identity, Rubinstein and Connor (1999) argue that what is at stake is not identity *per se* in any constructive sense but the everyday struggle of capital, land ownership, political negotiation, religion, and infrastructure.



**Figure 5.** Examples of media depiction of landscape and reproduction of images. (Left-top: Brochure of Tsumago, Right-top: The streetscape of Tsumago; Left-bottom: Brochure of Penglipuran, Right-bottom: The streetscape of Penglipuran). (Source: Brochures from the locations, 2017–2018 and photos by Author, 2017–2018).

Both places adjust to the everyday struggle by maintaining a nostalgic landscape and negotiating the use of modern tools and infrastructures in heritage areas.

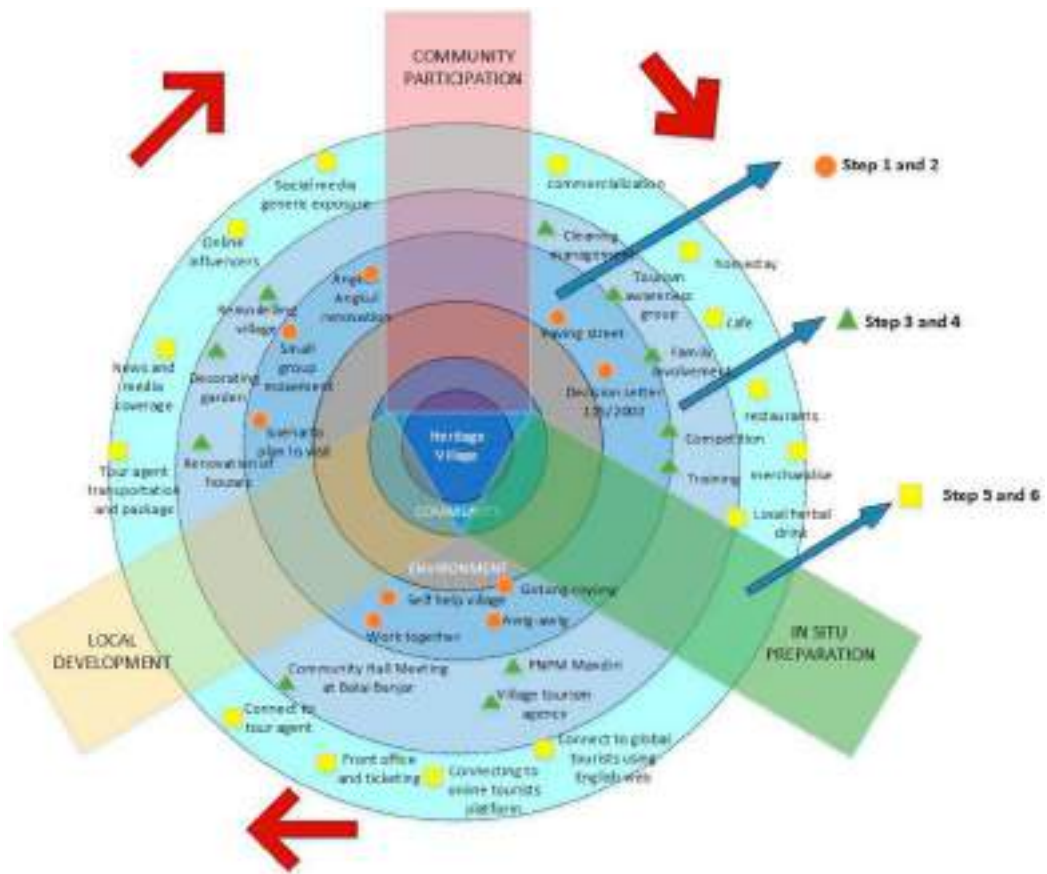
How do locals legitimate their collective identities and cultural experiences with nation imaginings to shape the patterns in the performances of heritage?

The second reading of *Penglipuran* and *Tsumago* comes from people movements, which demonstrate the dynamic relationship of a nation with its rural areas. To analyse the discourse of people movement, I adopt Davis' turbine development model of the museum, in which museums are built based on community participation (2011). Davis argues that museums should be interconnected with the community and the environment in the innermost circle of turbine model (2011). Liu and Lee (2015) use a similar model to explain the various processes of Taiwanese museums.

Accordingly, I develop the heritage turbine model to identify the process in which local people engage in the development of a heritage place from the beginning of its establishment until the present day. Davis (2011) argues that there are six main steps in the Turbine Model Process: (1) establish and (2) build collective agreement, (3) plan the management, (4) improve regional environment, (5) arrange commercial collaboration, and (6) develop regional issues. In the case of *Tsumago* (Figure 6) and *Penglipuran* (Figure 7), the finding of current study merges the six steps of Davis's model into three important milestones, to demonstrate clearly upon the similarities and differences during each process.

#### (1) First Milestone: Establishing and building collective agreement

Initially, the local people participate in the first milestone, which is to establish cultural and natural heritage through founders and early establishment actors. After that, the founders collect local residents' opinions to identify support for the early establishment actors.



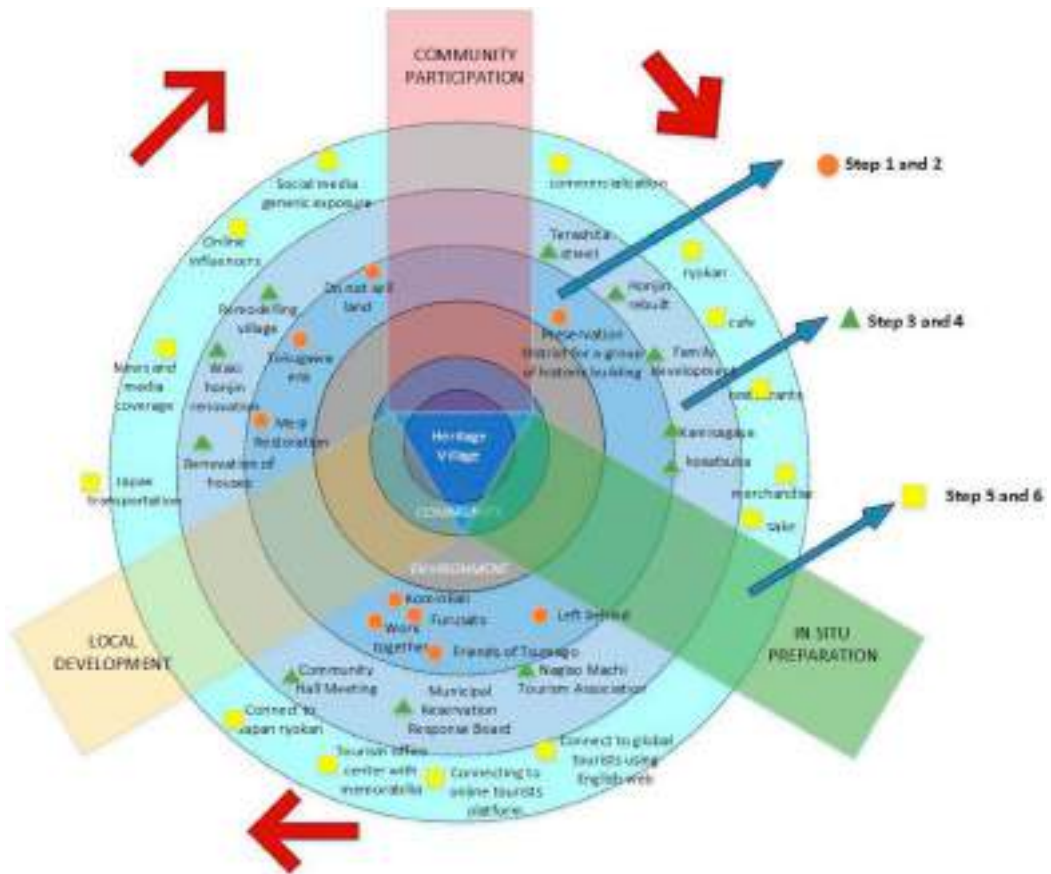
**Figure 6.** The Map of Tsumago Rural Heritage Turbine Model Process. (Source: adopted from Davis, 2011 and Liu & Lee, 2015).

*Tsumago*, which was built earlier than *Penglipuran*, displayed some of the historical values of the Tokugawa era in the early seventeenth century when it gathered local residents to build a highway system. Even though the Tokugawa system was in competition with other new modes of transportation such as rail and trucking, *Tsumago* still offered inns, restaurants and shops catering to the people who travelled through the Nakasendo areas such as government officials, pilgrims, merchants and local nobles. After 1868, during the Meiji Restoration, which returned the imperial house to the centre of power, *Tsumago*, like many former post towns, fell into decline (Siegenthaler, 2004). The entire mountain region suffered economically and fires in 1825, 1868, 1921, and 1933 also destroyed between 16 and 38 buildings in *Tsumago* (Siegenthaler, 2004). People in *Tsumago* then worked together to rebuild the houses, renovated the street and other buildings in the town.

We faced a decline in population in the new Meiji era. However, during the economic growth, we started to preserve the village because it has historic values from the Edo Period. People here have principles not to sell, lend or demolish our houses. (T-03)

Meanwhile, *Penglipuran* village was established as the inheritance for the loyal soldiers of the Kingdom of Bangli in 1800 (Vickers, 2013) up to the Dutch occupation around 1908. Originally, the ancestors of the people of *Penglipuran* were from Bayung Gede, a village 30 km away from the Kingdom of Bangli (now the regency), but the Kingdom granted land for the soldiers to rest and, soon, to live on. The village was preserved and redecorated in early 1990 by the gathering together of local residents drawn by a desire to preserve their houses. At the same time, Bali was preparing for the





**Figure 7.** The Map of Penglipuran Rural Heritage Turbine Model Process. (Source: adopted from Davis, 2011 and Liu & Lee, 2015).

visit of Soeharto to several locations including *Penglipuran*, although that visit was ultimately cancelled (Yamashita, 2003). Since then, preservation efforts have continued and *Penglipuran* stands as a collection of cohesive traditional architectural housing, pedestrian-only streets, bamboo forest preservation and commercial activities such as homestays, restaurants, small shops and coffee shops for visitors.

(2) Second Milestone: Planning management and improving regional environment

The second milestone involves planning management with the participation of locals, improving the regional environment, and setting up exhibition facilities and a tourist service centre. The data is obtained through local management agencies, administrators, decorating crews, cleaning crews, and front office staff.

In *Tsumago*, among 184 buildings within the area of the post town, more than 100 have been repaired, renovated, and remodelled since the restoration era started with the rebuilding of the *waki-honjin* in 1877. Later, locals built a village history museum in 1967. The *honjin* was rebuilt in 1995 using original plans, wood and designs to replicate its appearance in the early 1830s. The restoration of *Tsumago* as rural heritage place created a business success story; for example, it has attracted about one million visitors per year since 1990.

Drawn by its unique natural and architectural resources, international and domestic tourists started to visit *Penglipuran* and, in 1993, it was identified as one of the tourism destinations in Bali supported with a Regional Policy number, 115/1993 (Dorn, 2010). The activities of tourism

have continued and in 2012, when the concept of the *Desa Wisata*, or tourism village, was formulated by the central government, *Penglipuran* village was included as one of the pioneers of Indonesia's tourism villages.

In the beginning, we just want to make our village tidy and beautiful and preserving the legacy of our ancestors for the community itself, starting with preserving the *angkul-angkul* [entrance gate made of bamboo]. (P-03)

Therefore, both rural heritage communities have attached to the historical place in which they live. Local initiatives, including the agency to express their historical narrative, go beyond following the limitations and conditions of the historical era from which the location's cultural traditions are drawn and archiving their cultural collections and building local resilience (Beel et al., 2017). Building an invented tradition of rural heritage requires a very strong local initiative to construct the location and to reclaim the landscape (Said, 1994).

### (3) Third Milestone: Arranging commercial collaboration and developing regional issues

Finally, for the operational stage, the local people arranged commercial collaboration from public-private entities, devised a legal definition of their cultural landscape, and initiated a tourism community. The data is obtained from interviews with commercial groups, people involved in administration and government, and leaders/members of tourism awareness groups. Lastly, the locals integrated their rural heritage with the issues of regional development by connecting with people involved in regional government.

In this stage, *Tsumago* has been more articulate in documenting and presenting its local history by using photographs, memorabilia, museums and videos (Figure 8). With the benefit of Japan's transportation and integrated infrastructure, *Tsumago* connected its rural site with modern transportation nearby. In terms of online connection, with the benefit of integration with rural tourism in Japan, there are several private online platforms to connect English-speaking tourists to owners of *ryokan* or Japanese local homestay inns, including the owners of homestay businesses in *Tsumago*. The role of the Japanese government in the established market then became more to ensure the security of these online platforms and to direct or recommend tourists to come to several trusted platforms. In addition, the data that the Japan government gathers in their online platform also connects with these private platforms and/or directly to the *ryokan* or homestays if they already have websites.



**Figure 8.** The Collections and Memorabilia in the Museum of Tsumago Post Town. (Source: Photo by Author, 2018).



**Figure 9.** Hero Monument in Penglipuran. (Source: Photo by Author, 2017).

Meanwhile, *Penglipuran* still faces challenges in articulating its local history and bringing tourists to the location with the local transportation system. *Penglipuran* still depends heavily on the verbal presentation and recommendation of the guides from various travel agents as well as transportation to reach the rural heritage site. This is due to the system of tour packages in Bali and the lack of public transportation for tourism purposes. In addition, several cultural collections are still undocumented and unexplained for English tourists. One example is the process by which the village of *Penglipuran* and the hero monument were preserved, which is not mentioned in the brochures or on the outdoor displays. The hero monument was built in 1959, to commemorate the Revolution war in the Regency of Bangli. The leader of the war was Captain Anak Agung Anom Muditha. This hero monument is dedicated to him, and is located on the south side of *Penglipuran* village or the end of the main preservation street (Figure 9). However, if a visitor comes to the village for the regular one or two-hour tour, they will not be able to get any information about the history of the village or the monument, even from a guide. To date, the village has not developed an information board, a guidebook, a local guide, or other information for visitors (local or international) regarding the complete history of the preservation process or the history of the monument. Consequently, the hero monument currently functions as a space of memory for local people themselves. It is a reminder of their own contribution to the nation, their spirit of heroism through rituals and ceremonies on the site, and the construction of local identity.

*Tsumago* and *Penglipuran* deliver a set of intertextual codes deriving from social relations and memories that occur in a space to negotiate the contemporary challenges of relationships between nations and rural heritage sites in the establishment and development process. Therefore, even though national culture and internationalised representations of Japan and Indonesia coexist, the dynamic tension of local and national is also present.

#### How does the association of rural heritage place contribute to the nation brand?

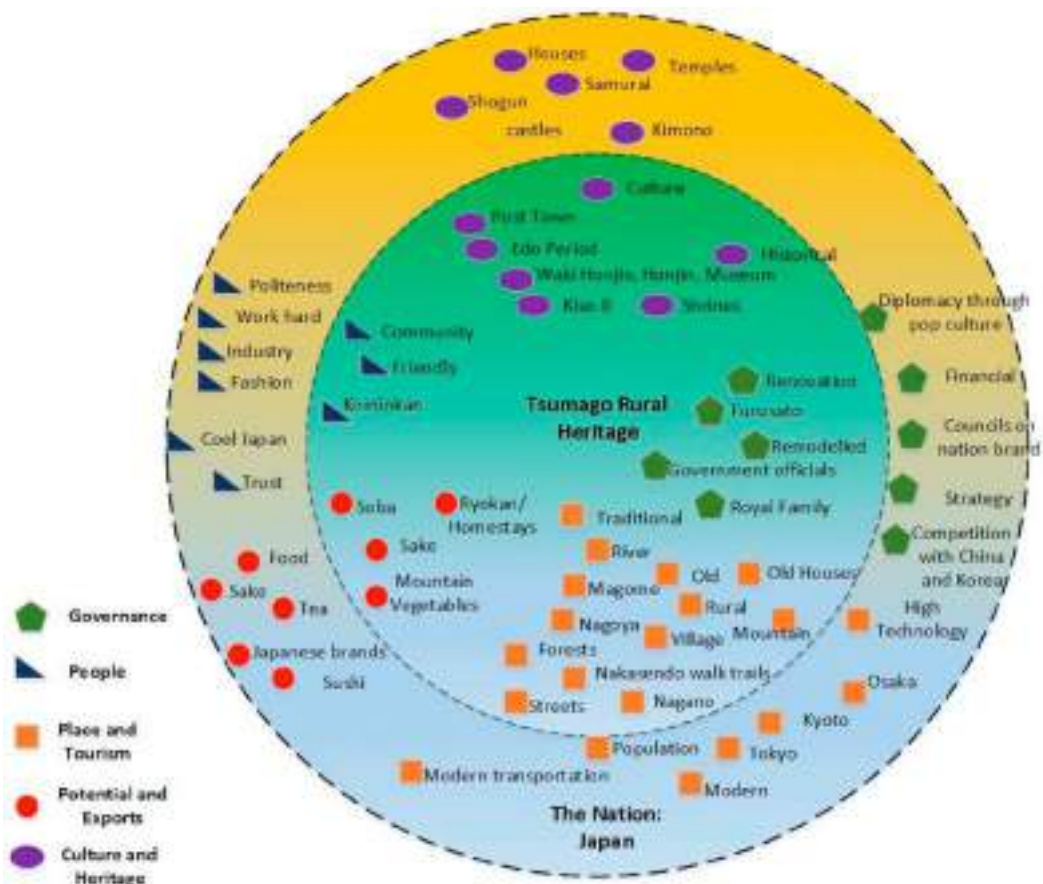
To analyse the data collected regarding nation brand, the study utilise Nielsen brand association map (2009) to compare both sites as collections of imaginings between expectations and experiences of the imaginings of nation. Using the clustered topics from the interview with tourists who visited

the locations, the current study investigates the functions of the rural heritages of *Tsumago* and *Penglipuran* for each discourse associated with the brand of the places. Briefly, to understand the association of rural heritage's contribution to the nation brand, I utilise two circles with some variety of dots that explains the category of nation branding. The outer circles represent 'the nation' of Japan or Indonesia and the inner dotted circles represent 'the rural heritage' of *Penglipuran* or *Tsumago*.

- Nation brand of Japan through words association

*Tsumago* as a rural heritage place, functions to enrich the dominant discourses of Japan's nation brand using three modes of discourse: (1) the imaginings of *Tsumago* provide alternative views on the Japanese national imaginings; (2) at the same time, the place also functions to anchor the past to the present with the connection of the brand 'Endless Discovery;' and (3) finally, even though *Tsumago* provides alternative imaginings, some discourses in the imaginings of *Tsumago* still confirm the imaginings of certain aspects of the Japanese national brand (Figure 10).

The range of discourses collected in the current research is similar to the findings of several previous research projects. For example, the nation brand of Japan is promoted through various potential products for export (Sakamoto & Allen, 2011; Valaskivi, 2013) and foods (Sakamoto & Allen, 2011). In addition, the collective characteristics and demographic style of the people in Japan are also gathered as associative words for the nation brand such as ‘trust,’ ‘consumption in fashion



**Figure 10.** Tsumago Imaginings and Japan Imaginings. (Source: Adopted from Nielsen brand association map, analysing using Envivo, presenting using Visio, 2009).



and industrial products,’ and ‘work culture and ethics’ (Aaker, Benet-Martinez, & Garolera, 2001; McGray, 2002). Some dominant and iconic cultural materials also become part of creating a nation brand in Japan as well as a strategy of tourism and soft power diplomacy (Iwabuchi, 2015). In terms of governance, the Japanese government is branded in ‘financial power’ (Grimes, 2005), in very tight ‘competition with China and Korea’ (Huang, 2011), and having ‘agency and/or strategies for diplomacy and nation branding’ (Valaskivi, 2013). Finally, Japan is predominantly represented in descriptions of place and tourism by several popular ‘iconic cities,’ ‘modern transportation,’ and ‘technological products’ (Anholt & Hildreth, 2011).

In the context of Japan, the nation branding changes from time to time, depending on political conditions and strategies, and such changes may be planned or unplanned actions. In the post-war era, Japan enjoyed an economic boom, even though, during that time, the Japanese identity was ambiguous due to a mixed collective memory of shame about war atrocities and modernisation. A process of achieving subjectivity was under way to define ‘who we are as a nation’ or *shutaisei* (Tamamoto, 2003). The implementation of this pursuit of identity was created in the spirit of *Nihon-jinron* or the national spirit to shape Japanese national and cultural identity through a general assumption of the uniqueness of Japan (Huang, 2011). Around 2005, the slogan ‘Cool Japan,’ appeared as a nation brand, in which the ‘Gross National Cool’ expression was created too (Valaskivi, 2013). Since then, the ‘Cool Japan’ phenomenon become a site of study for scholars in relations to popular culture, nationalism, and nation-building (Iwabuchi, 2015). Those changes are a process of reproducing ‘authentic’ Japan, in which the government expands this idea into cultural policy and preservation of monuments, towns, and other cultural assets. *Tsumago* is included in this process of preservation through cooperation between local officials and residents to create a site-specific programme as an ambitious plan to turn the whole town into a preservation site (Siegenthaler, 2004).

- Local brand of *Tsumago* through relationship with nation and local words association

A collection of discourses in the place brand of rural heritage of *Tsumago* has been gathered from this research project. Some discourses from *Tsumago* provide alternative views on the Japanese nation imaginings such as places for tourism purposes and depictions of people. Thus, the discourses become the anchor towards the Japanese brand of ‘Endless Discovery.’ *Tsumago* is depicted as traditional, a village, old and rural, as opposed to the depiction of Japan as a nation of modernity, iconic cities and high technology in the discourse of place and tourism. In terms of the depiction of people, the depiction of *Tsumago* give an alternative perspective on the idea of community, friendliness and civic movement of *Kominkan*, compared with the industrial, materialist and hard-working ethics in Japan as a nation.

All the people who sell product and homestays live here, I live here too ... [as a tourism centre officer]. We make money from the shops. We also work together and have meetings to support each other. (T-04)

In the village, people greet each other and live as a community. They know each other and work together everyday. (T-05)

Some collections of discourses in *Tsumago* provide alternatives for particular market enclaves. For example, Japan provides not only depictions of modern cities for tourists but also different products in villages and rural preservation. The Japanese government’s strategy to remodel and renovate hundreds of villages and post towns is embodied in the concept of *Furusato* (preserved old villages as form of a nostalgia for home) as opposed to the concept of *Machizukuri* (converting villages to industrial small towns) (Hohn, 1997; Knight, 1994; McGray, 2002; Robertson, 1988; Siegenthaler, 2003; Valaskivi, 2013). From interviews with tourists, the statement below shows how different markets of tourists are looking for potential rural heritage sites to be explored.

I do not like city very much. I visit this place with my painting group. We paint the old houses and natural landscape around Japan. It is a very nice experience to enjoy the nature with friends and do your hobby in the same time. (T-06)

I like traveling to the villages. It is nice to escape from the crowdedness of Japanese city and enjoy the outdoor activities like trekking from Tsumago to Magome, even though both places look similar. (T-07)

Some constructions such as potential products and culture/heritage function to confirm imaginings of Japan. Media data promotion and observations suggest that the dominant discourses in potential products are food such as *soba*, *sake*, some vegetable products from the mountains and the globally connected *ryokan* or local homestays. Local food as identity can give some insight into the strong relationship between food, nation culture, authenticity and globalisation of products (Sakamoto & Allen, 2011). The statement below, from an interview with a restaurant owner in *Tsumago*, shows how food and identity are related.

The *soba* here is handmade. It is very popular that you eat *soba* when you come to *Tsumago*. The vegetables and fish is from the mountain and river in here. (T-08)

We have handmade *Mochi* made with soya sauces only in here, and our *sake* is the second best in Nagano. (T-09)

The re-appearance of well-known Japanese food in the local areas strengthens the imaginings of authenticating places and the unique identity of 'being elsewhere.' (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001; Sakamoto & Allen, 2011, p. 102).

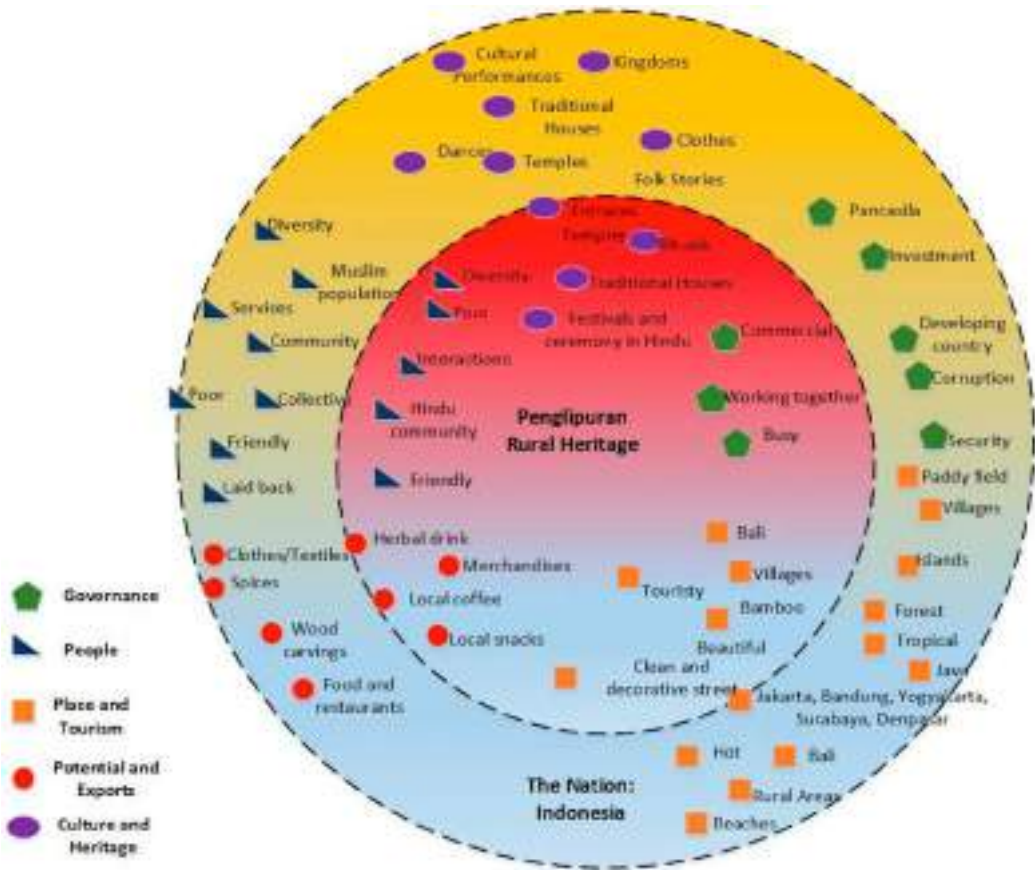
- Nation brand of Indonesia through word association

By comparison, *Penglipuran* functions to confirm the dominant discourses of Indonesia in terms of diversity, utilising two modes of discourse: the place of *Penglipuran* functions (1) to commemorate diversity and to exhibit a space of cultural and religious community, and (2) to fulfil the dominant expectation of the imaginings of Indonesia (Figure 11).

The discourses of the nation brand of Indonesia have been gathered from interview data with tourists who visit the locations. The results are similar to those of several previous research projects. In terms of places for tourism, Indonesia is often represented by the imaginings of big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and Denpasar (Payne, 2012). Also, Bali is depicted as the entrance to Indonesian tourism, along with some depictions related to Indonesia such as rural areas with various unequal power relations (Allon, 2004; Ratuva, 2008), beaches (Perera, 2009), paddy fields, villages, hot tropical places, and islands (Perera, 2009). In terms of potential goods and exports, the brand of Indonesia is represented by words such as spices (Jolliffe, 2014), wood/carving, clothes and textile (Hassler, 2003), and various kinds of food (Fischer, 2012). In the category of people, Indonesia is represented by discourses such as Muslim population (Fischer, 2012), friendliness, laid back, community (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986), poverty (Olins, 2002), collective society (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986), services, and diversity (Fitriani, Hofman, & Kaiser\*, 2005). In the category of 'culture and heritage', Indonesia is represented by discourses surrounding cultural performance such as *wayang*, dance, temples, traditional houses, clothes, and folk stories (Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). Finally for the category of governance, the discourses surround *Pancasila* (Indonesia's nation philosophy) (Schwarz, 2018), investment (Fischer, 2012), developing country, corruption (Gellert, 2015), and issues about security in a democratic country (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986).<sup>1</sup>

- Local brand of *Penglipuran* through relationship with nation and local words association

A collection of discourses in the place brand of the rural heritage of *Penglipuran* has been gathered during this research project. The place of *Penglipuran* functions to commemorate diversity and to exhibit the space of a cultural and religious community as demonstrated in some discourses. For example, aside from the depiction of Indonesia as a Muslim population, *Penglipuran* emphasise the strong identity of Hindu Bali, community and cultural diversity through its range of cultural materials such as traditional houses, festivals and ceremonies in Hindu temples and rituals. With this rural heritage performance, *Penglipuran* functions to demonstrate the diversity of Indonesia as it has been depicted in the nation brand. Statements below from an interview with the leader of the village show how representing the diversity of culture in Indonesia can increase local pride



**Figure 11.** Penglipuran Imaginings and Indonesia Imaginings. (Source: Adopted from Nielsen brand association map, analysing using Envivo, presenting using Visio, 2009).

and identity. The second statement come from the tourists who depict Indonesia and *Penglipuran* in terms of religious discourses.

As Hindu believers, community and Balinese, we are proud to show our way of life and village. At first, we just did all these for religion and ourselves. We want to have a good relationship with gods, human and environment or *Tri Hita Kirana*. But then, if what we did can be an example for Indonesia and represent our nation, we are so much happy. (P4)

Indonesia is a Muslim majority. This village is definitely Hindu population. You can see Muslim people visiting their Hindu fellows in this village, like that tourists (pointing at domestic tourists). It is good! Very good! (P5)

Figure 11 shows some similarities of discourses in the depiction of Indonesia and *Penglipuran*, such as village, paddy field, traditional, culture, houses, community, friendliness and diversity. However, some negative depictions also appear in the rural heritage such as poor or poverty and 'touristy area' and these are then related to the condition of rural areas in Indonesia (Allon, 2004; Ratuva, 2008).

## Discussion and Conclusion

The research findings in both cultural heritage villages indicate that local principles and commitments to preserve the heritage space become the strongest anchor in the negotiation between tourism demands and idyllic imaginings of village for the nation. Although some changes may have occurred to the local interpretations of imagined community and space representation in both cases, various

strategies and negotiations have been identified and implemented to maintain local principles and values (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007; Ernawati, Sanders, & Dowling, 2017; Yudiantini & Jones, 2015). The current research findings support the arguments that the establishment of cultural heritage villages follows local interpretations of spaces based on socio-economics and political dynamics that a nation faces over time, the complexity of local everyday struggles (Rubinstein & Connor, 1999; Throsby, 2016), contribute to the construction of space in cultural heritage villages.

A similar finding relates to local interpretations of the function of spaces, the narrative of spaces, and the local myth or stories surrounding the space, which become the materials that construct both cultural heritage villages. These findings are similar to the arguments of McDowell (2016), who identifies the heritage space as a selective cultural product of the past for contemporary purposes. In this view, local interpretations of the accumulations of myth, values, and inheritances are defined and determined for the needs of the society in the present, such as heritage history, local mythology, local values or principles, population growth, and capital needs. These interests implicate the heritage space in a political process (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2005), which involves the power of locals to interpret the past and to validate or legitimate the territorial ownership of local ideology in the present (McDowell, 2016).

By contrast, the materials referred to in the findings sections create unique features in the performances of both heritages. This is a process of marking places as products of emotional and physical connection, belonging, otherness, and identity (McDowell, 2016). The construction of 'us' – as it appears in such phrases as 'our land,' 'our *sake*,' 'our food,' is associated with emotional boundaries, belonging, and the symbolic qualities that can represent the 'self' (McDowell, 2016). The locals' sense of space is also closely related to their perceptions and beliefs about the place, which then shape the collections of symbols and signs differently. This heritage process connects with current needs in cultural, social, economic and political interests, and the struggle between locals and nation, and influences the diverse history of heritage performances and geography (McDowell, 2016). Therefore, local interpretations of their heritage space can shape the diversity of heritage, cultural assets, and strong local identities, which form a nexus between the nation and local.

The findings of this study show that the imagined community practices in *Tsumago* and *Penglipuran*, in constructing the spectacles of commodities, are an important component of the tangible materials of the local people (Staiff, 2016; Younan & Treadaway, 2015). Using institutional bodies, authoritative procedures, policies, and national standards in the cultural heritage villages, the repertoires of national power and civic loyalties come into being. It is evident in this study that, to achieve the status of an idyllic community, the cultural heritage community must perform loyalty to the nation (Picard, 2008; Vickers, 2013).

Similarly, the research findings in both cultural heritage villages indicate that civic practices are generated according to the constructions of the idyllic. It is evident, from the findings in *Tsumago* and *Penglipuran*, that locals acquire their idea of the idyllic from broader national discourses. The villages follow constructions from the directions of administrative authorities, share profit with the regional government (Antlöv, 2003; Duncan, 2007), actively participate in the constructed village organisations (Yuliastuti, Wahyono, Syafrudin, & Sariffuddin, 2017), and show loyalty by exhibiting the symbols, icons, and principles of the national construction of the idyllic. The similar generic movement in the loyalty of the two village communities through civic practices has resulted from a long-standing history of spreading the national vision of the idyllic to the village community (Wilson, 2014). This vision is not only about the performances of heritage community, but also about the everyday life of the village in relation to economic struggle, land ownership, religion, and identities. This finding is similar to previous research by Dahles (2013) for example, both places have local organisations or bodies to operate the tourism sectors, the nation disseminates its idyllic visions, pushes the village to fulfil the established requirements for national recognition, relegates the distribution of power to authorise decisions, and expects the national spirit to be demonstrated in local immaterial assets such as voluntary or free labour and local meetings or discussions to negotiate interests and tensions, and profit sharing as material assets by claiming a contribution of regional

income (Dahles, 2013). Therefore, the findings support the argument that civic practice is a process of showing loyalty to nation imaginings of idyllic villages.

However, the two rural heritages implement their civic practices in different ways according to the human resources available in their communities. *Penglipuran* has a strong social cohesion in its traditional customs and village structures (Wulandari, 2010). Therefore, the construction of the heritage village follows the nuance of the customary rules and leadership distributions in Balinese custom, and negotiates national demand in the realm and dynamics of customary rules or meetings. Meanwhile, *Tsumago* has a strong correlation with feudal and monarch history. Hence, the development of the post town and the heritage narratives follows the directions set by the involvement of royal officials or *daimyo* and/or elites in Japan. This influence is evident in the collection of materials, stories about royal families, ownership of buildings, photos, leadership of the local organisation and establishment, and the dissemination of information from digital media, local icons, and tour packages. Therefore, even though both villages follow similar idyllic constructions deriving from the nation imaginings, each village develops and moves its available human resources differently to achieve the idyllic rural.

Anderson (1991) argues that the nation's purpose is to uphold the official principles of the nation, including the values and local traditions that are formed to create its identities. In rural heritage spaces, local people decide which culture they would like to perform to best represent the shared uniqueness of their nations (Newland & Taylor, 2010; Waterton & Watson, 2010). Similarly, on the production side, the local people produce many narratives and symbols that occupy the discourses of landscape, local interactions, performances, activities, and connection to the nation branding. This study has determined that the identity of tourism production, people, and cultural diversity are the dominant values that shape the nation branding.

## Note

1. Finally, for the category of governance, the discourses commonly emerge surround Pancasila (Indonesia's nation philosophy) (Schwarz, 2018), investment (Fischer, 2012), developing country, corruption (Gellert, 2015), and issues about security in a democratic country (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986).

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## Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in:

Murti, D. (2018). <http://ddfe.curtin.edu.au/5AF3D9B88F520/>

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